

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 7, 1965

BY LIAISON

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

b6  
b7C

Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., USN (R)  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D. C.

*To Adm. 5/10/65 PS*

Dear Admiral Raborn:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Soviet Views on the Convening of a World Conference of All Communist Parties," is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources which have supplied reliable information in the past, the enclosed memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~". This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

*L*

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter of transmittal becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

REC-29

*100-428091-4*  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
MAY 7 11 59 AM '65

18 MAY 11 1965

Enclosure

100-428091

WGS:pah  
(8)

*pah*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~TOP SECRET~~

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

65 MAY 12 1965

TELETYPE UNIT

*WGS*  
*CS*  
*CS*

Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., USN (Ret.)

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S\* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the security of this informant. Information extracted from CGairtel 4/30/65, captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memorandum, Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/6/65, also captioned "Solo, IS - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 6, 1965

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

While in the Soviet Union on his recent Solo mission, CG 5824-S\* conferred in April, 1965, with Boris N. Ponomarev and Pyotr N. Demichev, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in regard to the consultative conference of nineteen communist parties which was held in Moscow, Russia, from March 1, 1965, through March 5, 1965. Ponomarev and Demichev made the following comments:

Approximately thirty communist parties have spoken out in favor of the position set forth in the communique which was issued following the consultative conference. The Communist Parties of China, Japan, Indochina, Albania and New Zealand have taken a position against the communique. However, it is significant to note that the Korean Party of Labor, the Workers Party of Vietnam and the Rumanian Workers Party, although refusing to attend the consultative conference, have not spoken out against the communique.

The question as to when a world conference of all communist parties will be held is still unresolved. However, in the near future there will be a regional meeting of European communist parties which will take place as a result of the initiative of the Communist Party of France. In addition, there is scheduled to be held in the near future a regional meeting of communist parties of the "Arabian countries." These meetings will be beneficial in preparing for a world conference of all communist parties.

It has been decided that, after replies to the communique have been received from a majority of the 81 communist parties, a meeting will be held, possibly in October, 1965, for the principal purpose of selecting a date for a world conference.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has no illusions that the Chinese will participate in a world conference in view of the recent statements of Chinese leader, MAO Tse-tung, that "we will meet with you in ten to fifteen years" and "we will unite when the imperialists attack us."

100-428091

Enclosures

WGS:pah

(7)

65 MAY 12 1965

EX 109

CONTINUED--OVER

18 MAY 11 1965

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: SOLO  
100-428091

The Soviets feel that, despite MAO's views, they cannot let each communist party "stew in its juice" forever. They feel that there is an urgent need for a world conference to resolve the many theoretical and tactical problems of the international communist movement. While the Soviets are "in no great rush" for a world conference, they feel that such a conference should not be delayed for a long period of time.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached for approval are appropriate letters to the White House, Secretary of State, Director of Central Intelligence Agency and the Attorney General.

WAS  
B  
✓ [unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] [unclear]

~~TOP SECRET~~

May 7, 1965

BY LIAISON

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

Honorable Dean Rusk  
The Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.

*del 5-10-65*

Dear Mr. Rusk:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Soviet Views on the Convening of a World Conference of All Communist Parties," is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources which have supplied reliable information in the past, the enclosed memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter of transmittal becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

100-428091

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WGS:pah  
(8)

~~TOP SECRET~~

EX 109

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

REC-29

19 MAY 11 1965

65 MAY 12 1965

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

MAY 7 11 59 AM '65

*Jobs*

*Rec'd*

*WGS*

*[Signature]*

*Wegs*

*100-428091-4798*

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Dean Rusk

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S\* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the security of this informant. Information extracted from CGairtel 4/30/65, captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memorandum, Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/6/65, also captioned "Solo, IS - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

5/10/65

Airtel **ROUTE IN ENVELOPE** 1 - Mr. Broyles

To: SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

From: Director, FBI (100-428091)

**SOLO**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

ReNYtels 3/1,2,3,4/65 and NYairtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) 4/29/65, copies of which were furnished Chicago.

ReNYtels indicate meetings between Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin of USSR and Chairman MAO Tse-tung, China, were carried out on a somewhat cordial basis. However, re NYairtel and LHM disclose much sarcastic language and manner used by MAO during their meetings, which gives a different impression and tone to the discussions.

It is desired that you contact CG 5824-S\* concerning this matter and secure his comments. You should ascertain source's opinion whether Soviets would give a different slant or emphasis to events occurring at these meetings with the Chinese to different groups.

Also it is desired that the source explain the meaning of the word "Stenogram" referred to in reairtel. Specifically, was this a transcript of the meetings, recording or notes?

Bureau desires to clarify this matter as soon as possible so that appropriate dissemination of the information can be made at the Seat of Government.

HLB:pah  
(4)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 25  
MAY 10 1965  
COMM-FBI

REC-29 100-428091-4799

MAY 11 1965

EX 109

65 MAY 12 1965

TELETYPE UNIT

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/6/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

*[Handwritten signature]*

Re Chicago airtel to the Bureau captioned Solo dated 1/5/65, enclosing a letterhead memorandum entitled, "East European Military Groups in Moscow, USSR, During December, 1964."

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Military Groups From Socialist Countries in Moscow, USSR, During March and April, 1965."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26 and 5/1/65 to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S\* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

The information in the enclosed letterhead memorandum is based upon CG 5824-S\*'s personal observations while in Moscow, USSR, during March and April, 1965.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

WAB:sck  
(5)

REC-32

100-428091-4800

EX-116

MAY 11 1965

77 MAY 18 1965

*[Handwritten signature]*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

*[Handwritten initials]*



CG 134-46 Sub B

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D.C.  
May 6, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

MILITARY GROUPS FROM SOCIALIST  
COUNTRIES IN MOSCOW, USSR, DURING  
MARCH AND APRIL, 1965

During late April and early May, 1965, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During the months of March and April, 1965, there was observed in Moscow, USSR, a very noticeably increased number of foreign military officers from the socialist countries over the number previously observed. These military officers are being quartered at the hotel of the Communist Party (CP) of the Soviet Union, which customarily is used only for the accommodation of CP people in Moscow on Party business. While on previous occasions such groups usually were composed of approximately a dozen officers, during this period about half the hotel was given over to a military group from one or the other of the socialist countries. Among the members of these groups, none was observed with a rank lower than Major and some were of the rank of General. They were always accompanied by a Soviet Colonel or General who was attached to the group apparently as their host. These men did not give the appearance of being the "peasant army" type but rather were very sharp and intelligent appearing and acting men.

It was rumored among CP of the Soviet Union officials that these groups were in Moscow for the latest briefing on military and political matters and also to study the latest type of weapons which they expect that the USSR will soon be sending to their countries. It is believed that should there be some overt move by the West Germans, such as acquiring new types of weapons, then the USSR will furnish these new weapons to their socialist allies.

~~TOP SECRET  
Group I  
Excluded from  
automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-425071-4800  
ENCLOSURE

MILITARY GROUPS FROM SOCIALIST  
COUNTRIES IN MOSCOW, USSR, DURING  
MARCH AND APRIL, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

Among the military groups observed in Moscow, during this period, there were groups from the military of the following countries:

Polish Peoples Republic  
Mongolian Peoples Republic  
Hungarian Peoples Republic  
Peoples Republic of Bulgaria  
Rumanian Peoples Republic  
Socialist Republic of Cuba

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 5/5/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

*Handwritten initials and signatures*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Increased Security Precautions in the USSR, the German Democratic Republic, and the Peoples Republic of Czechoslovakia."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26, 28 and 5/1/65 to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S\* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

The information in the enclosed letterhead memorandum is to a large extent based upon CG 5824-S\*'s personal observations while in the USSR, German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. In addition, some of the information was gleaned from comments among the leadership

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM) REC-32
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

4801

WAB:sck  
(5)

MAY 11 1965

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

77 MAY 14 1965

*Handwritten signatures and stamps: ENCLOSURE, 5192, 5/11/65, etc.*

CG 134-46 Sub B

of the CP of Czechoslovakia, such as Vladimir Koucky, Secretary of the Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia, and the leadership of the CP of the Soviet Union such as BORIS N. PONOMAREV, Secretary of the Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, and Head of the International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union. The source also advised that a further indication of the tightening up of security measures in these countries was the fact that it was hinted to the source in Czechoslovakia that the next time he visits Czechoslovakia it might be a good idea for him to get a visa before entering that country. In general, when CG 5824-S\* has been able to, he has obtained such a visa, but he has been advised by the Czechoslovak authorities that in his particular case there was no real necessity for a visa and he should feel free to come without one at any time. The source observed that for the last few years there was a general slackening of security precautions on the part of Czechoslovakia and in his opinion it used to be easier to get into Czechoslovakia than into the United States or France or England, etc. This is no longer the case. Source observed that this has no real effect upon his operations since he is certain he will have no difficulty entering Czechoslovakia as in the past with or without a visa.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

May 5, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

INCREASED SECURITY PRECAUTIONS  
IN THE USSR, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLIC, AND THE PEOPLES  
REPUBLIC OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

During late April and early May, 1965, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

It has been observed that there has been a general tightening up of security precautions in the USSR, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Peoples Republic of Czechoslovakia. This is particularly evident in the border regions in Czechoslovakia. For some years now, Czechoslovak concern with the physical security of the geographical borders of that country has been noticeably decreased. This situation no longer pertains. Once again, as in the days immediately following the installation of a communist government in Czechoslovakia, uniforms of military personnel are everywhere to be seen in the streets of Prague, and especially in the areas around the borders of Czechoslovakia.

In East Berlin, and in the area of the GDR surrounding that city, such a mobilization of troops has not been seen for many years. In Berlin itself the military, both German and Russian, seem literally to be swarming all over the city. The Soviet troops in particular seem to be veteran troops and give every indication of being there to stay. They have set up schools for their children and have their own transport system for the transportation of their children and other dependents.

In the USSR, the military once again appear to be in the ascendancy. The appearance of uniforms in the streets of the major Russian cities, which was formerly declining, is now increasing in a marked degree.

~~TOP SECRET  
Group I  
Excluded from  
automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-4-15091-7801  
ENCLOSURE

INCREASED SECURITY PRECAUTIONS  
IN THE USSR, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLIC, AND THE PEOPLES  
REPUBLIC OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

Among officials of these governments, the motivation for this obvious mobilization would appear to be as follows. The major fears of these countries stem from the anticipated activities of two countries, the United States and the German Federal Republic. The recent actions taken by the United States military forces in Southeast Asia have deepened the already palpable distrust of United States intentions. These countries are also afraid of the possibility that the West Germans might take some military initiative against the countries on her borders. The officials of these governments are guessing and wondering just how far the Johnson Administration will go. As soon as the United States forces began bombing targets in North Vietnam, the military in these countries immediately began to mobilize. There is a feeling among informed sources of these governments that United States military action in Vietnam is just a diversion before a larger blow is struck by Western powers in the Western part of Eastern Europe.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/6/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*  
BRAND

Re Chicago airtel to the Bureau captioned SOLO, dated 1/19/65, enclosing an informant's statement entitled, "Discussions with Vladimir (Last Name Unknown), Representative of the Security Branch, International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

*[Handwritten signature]*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies and for the New York Office one copy of an informant's statement captioned, "Instructions Regarding Communications Apparatus Between Communist Party, USA, and Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

The information appearing in the enclosed informant's statement was orally furnished on 4/26/65 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE.

The information in this informant's statement was furnished to NY 694-S\* by CG 5824-S\* in New York City during the week of 4/26/65.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

WAB:sck  
(5)

REC-32

4802

MAY 11 1965

*[Handwritten notes]*  
3-  
1 enc. delayed  
5-12-65  
WAB

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

77 MAY 19 1965

*[Handwritten signature]*



**INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING  
COMMUNICATIONS APPARATUS BETWEEN  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION**

During the course of a visit to the USSR during March and April, 1965, a representative of the Communist Party (CP), USA, was in contact with Vladimir (Last Name Unknown), a representative of the Security Branch, International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union. Among the matters discussed were the following:

The CP, USA representative reminded Vladimir that during his last visit to the USSR in December, 1964, he had received assurances from the Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, that the funds promised to the CP, USA, would be forthcoming soon. As of that time these funds had not been received. Vladimir replied that a large quantity of money had already been sent to the United States for transmission to the CP, USA, and expressed his inability to account for the delay in the delivery. He indicated he would look into this matter further.

Vladimir then took up the matter of the operations of the clandestine communications apparatus between the CP, USA and the CP of the Soviet Union. Vladimir insisted that the instructions he had given in December, 1964, must be implemented. He reiterated these instructions to the effect that CP, USA representatives will select the location of drops for the transmission of material from the CP, USA, to the CP of the Soviet Union. The CP, USA should advise the CP of the Soviet Union of their locations and although the immediate area around the drops will be checked out by the CP of the Soviet Union before their use, the drops themselves will not be checked. These drops are to be used only once. The CP of the Soviet Union, however, will select the location of drops for transmission of material from the CP of the Soviet Union to the CP, USA, and the CP, USA will be advised of the drop locations by the CP of the Soviet Union. The use of black tape placed at various locations as a signal in the drop operation can be continued or discontinued at the option of the CP, USA representative. It is not necessary at all.

Vladimir stated that the CP of the Soviet Union desires that the CP, USA furnish to them a map of New York City for their assistance in choosing areas for the operations of the apparatus. There should be marked on this map the locations of the home addresses of all leading individuals in the CP, USA, as well as those locations or areas which would be bad in general or where there is any amount of FBI traffic or activity. By using the information on this map, the CP of the Soviet Union can then avoid such areas which would pose a risk to the security of this operation.

ST-117  
REC-5

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 5/6/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

*[Handwritten signature]*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Norman Freed, Member, National Committee, Communist Party of Canada, and Currently Communist Party of Canada Representative to 'World Marxist Review,' Prague."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/27/65 to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S\* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago
- RWH:sck  
(5)

REC-32

4803

MAY 11 1965

77 MAY 10 1965  
Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
*[Handwritten notes and stamps]*

*[Handwritten note: 1 Cond]*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D.C.  
May 6, 1965

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~NORMAN FREED,  
MEMBER, NATIONAL COMMITTEE,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA,  
AND CURRENTLY COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF CANADA REPRESENTATIVE  
TO "WORLD MARXIST REVIEW," PRAGUE~~

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April, 1965, advised as follows:

Norman Freed, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Canada and current representative of the CP of Canada to the "World Marxist Review," official theoretical organ of the international communist movement, Prague, Czechoslovakia, several months ago suffered a severe heart attack. He is still hospitalized and receiving treatment at the Francisco Rozna Sanatorium in Prague. His confinement will continue through the latter part of May, 1965. When finally released from the sanatorium, Freed will be sent on a month's vacation in Czechoslovakia, and then during the latter part of June, 1965, join William Kashtan, General Secretary, CP of Canada, in a trip to Moscow, USSR. After the trip to Moscow, Freed may return permanently to Canada.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL  
Group 1  
Excluded from  
automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-435071-4803  
ENCLOSURE

REC-6  
STAT  
ROUTE IN ENVELOPE  
FBI

Date: 5/6/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

*[Handwritten signature]*

Re Chicago airtel dated 1/20/65 captioned, "Solo" and enclosed letterhead memorandum captioned, "Vladimir Koucky, Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia."

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Demotion of Vladimir Koucky as Head of Ideological Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia."

*[Handwritten mark]*

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/27/65 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S\* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

RWH:sck  
(5)

EX-116<sup>1</sup> REC-32

4804

18 MAY 11 1965

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 MAY 28 1965  
Special Agent in Charge

*[Handwritten notes and signatures]*

CG 134-46 Sub B

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was secured by the source on 4/23/65 during his last contact with representatives of the Communist Party (CP) of Czechoslovakia, while en route to the Prague airport for his departure to Paris. The specific individual who furnished the information was (FNU) CHERNIK, who is currently a Deputy in the International Department, Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D.C.  
May 6, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

*to file*  
DEMOTION OF VLADIMIR KOUCKY  
AS HEAD OF IDEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT,  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April, 1965, advised as follows:

In late December, 1964, Vladimir Koucky, a leading Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ), was assigned to the position as Head of the Ideological Department of the Central Committee and given responsibility for ideological work in Czechoslovakia both within and outside the CPCZ. On April 23, 1965, Koucky was demoted to the position of Vice Chairman of the Ideological Department, Central Committee, CPCZ. No reason was given at this time for Koucky's demotion but it was rumored that there may be other changes yet to come among the leadership of the CPCZ.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~Group 1~~  
~~Excluded from~~  
~~automatic~~  
~~downgrading and~~  
~~declassification~~

100-421000  
ENCLOSURE

4804

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/6/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

*[Handwritten initials and signatures]*

Remyairtel dated 5/4/65, captioned as above.

Referenced airtel related to possible travel by BEN DOBBS, Los Angeles, to the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and to the Soviet Union for participation in veterans celebrations.

In connection with the above, CG 5824-S\* on 5/5/65 advised that he had been in contact with DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman, Southern California District Communist Party, in Los Angeles, on 5/4/65. She had spoken to BEN DOBBS on 5/4/65 and as of that date he had not even received his birth certificate which is a necessary prerequisite in connection with his application for U.S. passport. She stated that DOBBS' birth certificate is on file in New York State and that he had sent an urgent request that a copy be transmitted to him in Los Angeles. HEALEY noted that because of this delay, DOBBS probably would be unable to make the trip to the GDR but would still try, if his birth certificate arrived in time, to secure his passport and travel to the Soviet Union for the 20th Anniversary celebration of the end of World War II.

HEALEY agreed to keep CG 5824-S\* informed of any developments in the above matter and arranged to contact the source through JACK KLING, a leading functionary, Communist Party of Illinois, in Chicago.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

REC-32  
18 MAY 11 1965  
4805

RWH: sck  
(5)

EX-116

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

77 MAY 19 1965

*[Handwritten signature]*



CG 134-46 Sub B

The Los Angeles Division is being advised of the above by separate communication under the DOBBS caption.

~~REC-32~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/6/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

*Handwritten notes:*  
M. ...

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Jaime Riverio, Press Secretary, Cuban Embassy, Moscow, USSR."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/27/65 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S\* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C.

REC-32

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 4) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

4806

RWH:sck  
(5)

*Handwritten:* ENCLOSURE

EX-116

18 MAY 11 1965

*Handwritten initials:* [Signature]

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge  
*Handwritten:* 62 and 5-19-65

CG 134-46 Sub B

Am glad to hear the lads (CP, USA delegates who attended the 3/1/65 Moscow meeting and 3/16/65 "World Marxist Review" symposium, Prague, Czechoslovakia) have returned safe and sound and hope to hear further from you with respect to the joint effort (planned joint CP of Canada-CP, USA leadership school) in the fall. Before vacations set in, it might be useful to hold a joint exchange (of Party representatives on the school) to make sure the project goes ahead with flying colors. Speaking of vacations the wife and I hope to get away (to Czechoslovakia where he will meet NORMAN FREED and then to the USSR) about the middle of June and all going well, should be returning the end of July. The trip out west was fairly good, considerable press, radio and TV publicity which seems to be a new feature today and is of course, most welcome.

All the best and keep in touch.

as ever,

B (WILLIAM KASHTAN)





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.  
May 6, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~JAI ME RIVERIO~~, PRESS SECRETARY,  
~~CUBAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW, USSR~~

*- Cuba*

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April, 1965, advised as follows:

As of March, 1965, the position of Press Secretary, Cuban Embassy, Moscow, USSR, was held by an individual identified as Jaime Riverio. Riverio is 23 years of age and was born in Tampa, Florida, where his father had worked at one time. Riverio returned to Cuba a number of years ago with his father.

*APPROX 1942*

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET  
Group 1  
Excluded from  
automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

*100-42507-4806*  
ENCLOSURE

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/7/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

ReNYairtel dated 5/3/65.

By reairtel the New York Office furnished to Chicago for CG 5824-S\*'s review a letter received by NY 694-S\* from WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary, CP of Canada, for GUS HALL. CG 5824-S\*'s interpretation of this letter was as follows:

April 30th, 1965

Dear Herbert (Gus Hall):

My apologies for not having replied sooner. After my return from a western tour (visit to the Canadian Provinces on Party business) got involved in preparing for our little affair (CP of Canada Plenum 4/23-24/65) here which came off fairly well. Considerable attention of course was given to far off events (Vietnam) since added to by a resurgence of gunboat diplomacy (Dominican Republic) closer to home. It's part of one picture and a dangerous one at that.

Have passed on the information regarding the young person to those concerned. (CG 5824-S\* at this point cannot relate this to any matter discussed previously by him with the Canadians.)

- ③-Bureau (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

REC-32

MAY 11 1965

RWH:MDW  
(5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

77 MAY 19 1965

~~REC-6~~  
**ROUTE IN ENVELOPE**  
FBI

**ST-117** Date: 5/6/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

**TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)**

**FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)**

**SOLO**  
**IS - CH**

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
D. J. [unclear]  
[unclear]  
[unclear]

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies each and for New York one copy each of the following letterhead memoranda:

1) "Personnel Changes in North and South American Section, International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union"

2) "Security Investigation in Hungarian Peoples Republic Resulting From Recent Visit of Jack and Ruth Shulman, American Citizens, to that Country"

3) "Alexander Tuchin (Phonetic), Protocol Chief, 'World Marxist Review,' Prague, Czechoslovakia"

4) "William Kashtan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada"

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memoranda was furnished on 4/26, 27, 28, 29 and 5/6/65 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

- ③-Bureau (Enc. 16) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 4) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

REC-32

4808

RWH:MDW  
(5)

**ENCLOSURE**

EX-116

18 MAY 11 1965

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 JUN 8 1965

Special Agent in Charge

*Handwritten signature and notes:*  
[unclear] 6/1/65

CG 134-46 Sub B

The enclosed letterhead memoranda have been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since they contain information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S\* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

In regard to the letterhead memorandum containing information on changes in the International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, this information was developed during a meeting with NIKOLAI V. MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section, International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union; with ALEKSEI A. GRECHUKHIN, which took place at a social get-together at their Moscow home; and in meetings with IGOR MIKHAILOV. In regard to MIKHAILOV, the source advised this individual is identical with one whom he has sometimes in the past identified as IGOR MICHAELOV.

In regard to information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum concerning the security investigation in Hungary, this information was developed during conversations with CARL LEICHTMAN held in New York, 4/28/65, following that individual's return from a trip he took to Hungary which had been arranged by CG 5824-S\*. LEICHTMAN received this information from his uncle, J. PETERS, a former CP, USA functionary who is now a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and an official of the Hungarian Government.

In regard to the information on ALEXANDER TUCHIN (ph), this information arose as a result of his contacts with that individual and visits to his office at the "World Marxist Review," Prague. This individual worked closely with CG 5824-S\* and arranged his travel and in several instances secured tickets for the travel to Moscow and the German Democratic Republic.

The information in the enclosed letterhead memorandum concerning WILLIAM KASHTAN was developed during the course of meetings with KASHTAN in Prague and with NORMAN FRIED, also in Prague, held during the period 3/14-21/65 and also in a brief discussion with a representative of the International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, in Moscow during 4/65. Source also stated that he learned that subsequent to the



CG 134-46 Sub B

conclusion of the symposium in Prague on 3/18/65, KASHTAN traveled to Moscow but made his stay there extremely brief and then returned to Prague. KASHTAN made his stay as brief as possible to further indicate his anger and contempt at the Russians which existed at that particular time.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memoranda have been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 6, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

PERSONNEL CHANGES IN NORTH AND SOUTH  
AMERICAN SECTION, INTERNATIONAL DEPART-  
MENT, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF THE SOVIET UNION

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April, 1965, advised as follows:

As of March, 1965, Aleksei A. Grechukhin no longer held the position as Assistant to Nikolai V. Mostovets, Head of the North and South American Section, International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), but instead was now serving as a Professor in the High Party School teaching cadre. Igor V. Mikhailov, who formerly worked on United States trade union matters and as a translator in the North and South American Section, International Department, has been promoted to the position vacated by Grechukhin and is the Assistant to Mostovets. In turn, Mikhailov's responsibility has now been turned over to Andre Urnov. Urnov is an outstanding English translator who has worked in the past with a number of Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) leaders when they visited the Soviet Union. He was also assigned for an extended period of time as the personal translator to Henry Winston, a Vice Chairman of the CP, USA, who spent an extended period in the Soviet Union receiving medical treatment. At the present time, Urnov is awaiting a trip to the United States as a member of an unidentified but scheduled delegation from the Soviet Union.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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Group 1  
~~excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-425-71-4808

ENCLOSURE

(1)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

May 6, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SECURITY INVESTIGATION IN HUNGARIAN PEOPLES  
REPUBLIC RESULTING FROM RECENT VISIT OF JACK  
AND RUTH SHULMAN, AMERICAN CITIZENS, TO THAT  
COUNTRY

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April, 1965, advised as follows:

Recently, Jack Shulman, the former chauffeur of William Z. Foster, deceased Chairman, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), and his wife Ruth Shulman were visitors to the Peoples Republic of Albania. While in Albania they contacted the Hungarian Peoples Republic diplomatic establishment in Tirana and at this time requested and received visas for a visit to Hungary. They then went to Budapest, Hungary, where they were greeted as official Party guests and housed in the official hotel of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP). While in Budapest, it is alleged the Shulmans had been very outspoken and agitated against the CP, USA.

This matter came to the attention of the leadership of the HSWP and they were extremely upset by it. In the past, the HSWP, as well as Parties in other socialist countries, had been informed by the CP, USA that the Shulmans had been expelled from the CP, USA for pro-Chinese attitudes and provocative activities and should not be invited to the socialist countries. As a result, there is now a big investigation underway within the HSWP to determine how come and why there was such a breach of security by Hungarian Party officials in dealing with the Shulmans and treating them as official Party guests. The Party is attempting to specifically find out who in the Party is to be held responsible.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-425091-4808

ENCLOSURE

2



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

May 6, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~ALEXANDER TUCHIN (PHONETIC), PROTOCOL  
CHIEF, "WORLD MARXIST REVIEW," PRAGUE,  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA~~

*APPROX. 1920*

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April, 1965, advised as follows:

It has been learned that one Alexander Tuchin (phonetic) has now been assigned as the new protocol man and person apparently in charge of security at the headquarters of the "World Marxist Review," official theoretical organ of the international communist movement, Prague, Czechoslovakia. Tuchin has apparently replaced (first name unknown) Pospelov.

APPROX. 1920

Tuchin at one time served as Secretary to Otto Kuusinen, deceased Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and also worked at one time for Boris N. Ponomarev, a current Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU. Tuchin maintains an office in the "World Marxist Review" headquarters which has direct telephone connections with the Central Committee Building in Moscow. He has a secretarial staff assigned to his office which itself is equipped with a number of vaults utilized for the apparent safekeeping of documents and other material.

Tuchin is approximately 45 years of age and married. He neither smokes nor drinks. He has a light complexion and has fair hair and balding. He is a Russian citizen and Russian is the only language he speaks. He reportedly also has a very fine talent for writing.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET  
Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-425071-4808  
ENCLOSURE

3



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 6, 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~WILLIAM KASHTAN, GENERAL SECRETARY,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA~~

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April and early May, 1965, advised as follows:

In mid-March, 1965, William Kashtan, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP) of Canada, traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, to participate in a symposium sponsored by the "World Marxist Review," official theoretical organ of the international communist movement, headquartered in Prague.

When Kashtan arrived in Prague on approximately March 15, 1965, he was in an extremely bad mood. This mood resulted from the fact that Kashtan felt that the CP of the Soviet Union had been attempting to interfere in the affairs of the CP of Canada which were none of their, the CP of the Soviet Union's, business. This interference in CP of Canada's affairs to which Kashtan referred reportedly, in part, were the alleged efforts of the CP of the Soviet Union to influence Tim Buck, Chairman, CP of Canada, against Kashtan when he had been elected to take over the General Secretary position of the Party after Leslie Morris had died. In addition, there was some indication that the CP of the Soviet Union held the opinion that the CP of Canada under Kashtan's leadership had fallen into the hands of revisionists. Kashtan indicated that in his opinion the CP of the Soviet Union was still living in the past regarding such matters and he was now going to make it clear to them that he alone was the boss of the CP of Canada.

The CP of the Soviet Union immediately became aware of Kashtan's mood upon his arrival in Prague and in an

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~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-478091-

ENCLOSURE

4808

4

WILLIAM KASHTAN, GENERAL SECRETARY,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

~~TOP SECRET~~

effort to rectify the situation immediately dispatched some leading people from Moscow to Prague which included one Gregory (last name unknown) who heads up the British Commonwealth Section of the International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, under which relations with Great Britain, Canada, and other commonwealth nation Parties are handled. These individuals had special meetings with Kashtan, arranged banquets for him, and held special parties both during and after the completion of the "World Marxist Review" symposium. However, the actions of the Russians during the course of the "World Marxist Review" symposium apparently had little effect upon Kashtan because the position Kashtan took in his remarks to the symposium were not good on the main role of the CPs in capitalist countries.

After the conclusion of the "World Marxist Review" symposium, Norman Freed, CP of Canada representative to the "World Marxist Review," remarked that Kashtan was neither a revisionist nor a liquidationist. While Kashtan was angry, he would not stray from the correct line of the international communist movement if the CP of the Soviet Union would fully recognize him as the leader of the CP of Canada. Kashtan, at the time, according to Freed, merely wanted the CP of the Soviet Union to know that he heads the CP of Canada and the CP of the Soviet Union to acknowledge this and then everything will be all right.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

May 10, 1965

BY LIAISON

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Honorable Marvin Watson  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

Dear Mr. Watson:

I thought the President would be interested in reading the enclosed memorandum, captioned "Communist Party, USA, International Relations," which relates to an invitation extended by the Cuban Government to the Communist Party, USA, to have "a number of Communist Party, USA, sponsored youths" visit Cuba.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source which has furnished reliable information in the past, this letter and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to the Attorney General and other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

100-428091

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WGS:pah  
(9)

*feh*

~~TOP SECRET~~  
Group 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

REC 20

19 MAY 12 1965

EX-101

65 MAY 14 1965

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

*Deloach 5-11-65*  
*REC'D - READING ROOM*  
*FBI*  
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*b7C*

*Walt*

*P. DeLoach*  
*ckw*

*P*

*V*

*wes*

*John*

*R*

*FBI*

*J*

*4809*  
*MS*

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Marvin Watson

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Information extracted from CGairtel 5/4/65, captioned "Solo, IS-C." See memorandum, Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/7/65, also bearing the Solo caption, prepared by WGS:pah.

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

The Attorney General

May 10, 1965

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

**COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Communist Party, USA, International Relations," relates to an invitation extended by the Cuban Government to the Communist Party, USA, to have "a number of Communist Party, USA, sponsored youths" visit Cuba.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source which has furnished reliable information in the past, this letter and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to the President and other interested officials of the Government.

Enclosure

100-428091

1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Information extracted from CGairtel 5/4/65, captioned "Solo, IS-C." See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/7/65, also bearing Solo caption, prepared by WGS:pah.

WGS:pah  
(11)

REC'D - READING ROOM  
MAY 10 2 20PM '65  
FBI

*(Handwritten initials)*

*Robt*

MAILED 2  
MAY 11 1965  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~TOP SECRET~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

ENCLOSURE  
65 MAY 14 1965

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

18 MAY 12 1965

*(Handwritten signatures and initials)*

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 10, 1965

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

## COMMUNIST PARTY, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Cuban Government has recently advised the Communist Party, USA, that it desired to invite "a number of Communist Party, USA, sponsored youths" to Cuba following the conclusion of the Ninth World Youth Festival which is scheduled to be held in Algiers, Algeria, during the Summer of 1965. In that regard, the Communist Party, USA, was advised that these youths would be able to travel to Cuba by chartered ship which is scheduled to sail from Algiers after the close of the Festival.

The Cuban Government also advised the Communist Party, USA, that since it has "problems with hard currency," it would be necessary for these youths to pay for their travel to Cuba. However, the Cuban Government promised to pay for the return trip of the youths to the United States.

100-428091

NOTE:

Memorandum classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Information extracted from CGairtel 5/4/65, captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/7/65, also bearing the Solo caption which discloses the dissemination being afforded this letterhead memorandum.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WGS:pah  
(13)

*pah*

~~TOP SECRET~~  
Group 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

*WGS*  
*MSJ*  
*SR*

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

100-428091-4810  
ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 10, 1965

BY LIAISON

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

Honorable Dean Rusk  
The Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.

*5-12-65  
delivered  
[Signature]*

Dear Mr. Rusk:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Communist Party, USA, International Relations," relates to an invitation extended by the Cuban Government to the Communist Party, USA, to have "a number of Communist Party, USA, sponsored youths" visit Cuba.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source which has furnished reliable information in the past, this letter and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

100-428091

WGS:pah  
(9)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

65 MAY 14 1965

TELETYPE UNIT

EX 105

REC-9

REC'D - HEADINGS ROOM  
MAY 11 2 22 PM '65

100-428091-4811

MAY 12 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

*[Handwritten initials and signatures]*

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Dean Rusk

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Information extracted from CGairtel 5/4/65, captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memorandum, Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/7/65, also bearing the Solo caption, prepared by WGS:pah.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

4  
(H)

May 10, 1965

BY LIAISON

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

b6  
b7c

Honorable Marvin Watson  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

The enclosed memorandum, captioned "Soviet Analysis of Plans and Motives of the People's Republic of China," sets forth an analysis made by a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in late February, 1965. It is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest to the President.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, this communication and its enclosure are classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

REC'D - READING ROOM  
FBI  
MAY 10 2 15 PM '65

*[Handwritten signature]*

Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-428091

RCP:pah  
(9)

~~TOP SECRET~~  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

MAY 12 1965

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

65 MAY 14 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Marvin Watson

NOTE: Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S\* referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See CGairtel 5/1/65 and memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/7/65, both captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

May 10, 1965

## SOVIET ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

In late February, 1965, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union gave an analysis of the plans and motives of the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China to convince representatives of a foreign communist party that the Soviet Union was correct in its dispute with China. The analysis developed along the following lines:

The rulers of the United States realize the war in Vietnam is lost and are looking for a way out. The Chinese aggravate the situation in Southeast Asia and it is obvious they have a far-reaching plan for that area.

The United States is the aggressor in Southeast Asia but Chinese interference continues to help the United States broaden the conflict in Vietnam. MAO Tse-tung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China, has said China will commit its troops when the United States starts overt aggression against China. In effect, he is asking for the invasion of North Vietnam and saying, "We won't interfere." Soviet equipment has helped the people of Vietnam shoot down American airplanes. The Chinese cannot provide this assistance because China does not have it.

The Chinese want a military clash between Indonesia and Malaysia and have promised to give Indonesia two million soldiers. The Soviet Union believes communists should be urging Indonesia into a policy of internationalism.

The Chinese would like to destroy the United Nations. In May, 1965, at the Afro-Asian Conference in Algeria the Chinese will attempt to form a "New Revolutionary UN" which "stinks of nationalism and racism."

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
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- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-428091

RCP:pah  
(9)

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE 2)

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-4812

~~TOP SECRET~~

SOVIET ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND  
MOTIVES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The Communist Party of China is campaigning to convince people of the special destiny of the Chinese people. The Chinese want a third world war during which they will play the part of observers while Europeans and Americans destroy themselves.

Incorrect policies pushed the economy of China into disaster after 1958. It will take another eight years before the 1958 level of agricultural production is reached. As a result, rationing has been introduced. Chinese economic successes prior to 1958 were due to Soviet assistance.

The Communist Party of China is afraid of a world conference of communist parties because it is afraid of the future. This attitude will have to change. If the present leadership in China will not change this attitude, a new leader will. In the long run a flexible policy will bend the Chinese to the Soviet viewpoint.

The Communist Party of China calls the Communist Party of the Soviet Union bourgeois because it has raised the standard of living of the Soviet people and describes this as a symbol of degeneration. What it boils down to is this: Suppose one told American workers socialism means poverty. Who would join the revolution?

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S\* referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See CGairtel 5/1/65 and memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/7/65, both captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist."

~~TOP SECRET~~



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 11, 1965

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

*B. Shaw*

My memorandum of 4/7/65 set forth in detail receipts and disbursements of funds from the Soviet Union and Red China by the Communist Party, USA, during March, 1965. The following schedule shows the present status of these funds together with receipts and disbursements during April, 1965.

SUMMARY:

Total received from the Soviet Union 9/58 to 4/30/65.....	\$2,404,023.00
Total received from Red China 2/60 to 4/30/65.....	50,000.00
Grand total received 9/58 to 4/30/65.....	2,454,023.00
Total disbursements to 4/30/65.....	1,931,719.33
Balance of Fund 4/30/65.....	\$ 522,303.67*

\*\$467,533.78 maintained by NY 694-S\* in New York City.  
54,769.89 maintained by CG 5824-S\* in Chicago.

DETAILS:

Total received from Soviet Union 9/58 to 3/31/65.....	\$2,389,023.00
Total received from Red China 2/60 to 3/31/65.....	50,000.00
Grand total received 9/58 to 4/30/65.....	2,439,023.00
Total disbursements to 3/31/65.....	1,901,658.11
Balance of Fund 3/31/65.....	\$ 537,364.89

Receipts during April, 1965..... 20,000.00\*\*

\*\*\$15,000 received by NY 694-S\* in New York City on 4/17/65 from Nikolai Talanov, Soviet Mission to the United Nations; \$5,000 returned to NY 694-S\* by Isidore Needleman, suspected Soviet espionage agent and high-level contact of Communist Party, USA, officials.

100-428091

EX-110 REC-16 / 100 - 428091 - 4813

WGS:pah  
(5)

CONTINUED--OVER

25 MAY 12 1965

77 MAY 19 1965

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan  
Re: SOLO  
100-428091

DISBURSEMENTS DURING APRIL, 1965:

4/7/65 - To Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, for expenses of Party's National Office.....	\$ 4,000.00
4/19/65 - To Lena Scherer, Party reserve fund official, for payroll of Party's National Office.....	10,000.00
4/20/65 - To Arnold Johnson, Legislative Director, Communist Party, USA, for expenses of Party's National Office.....	5,000.00
4/20/65 - To Jessica Smith, Editor, "New World Review," Soviet propaganda organ published in New York City for expenses of that publication.....	10,000.00
4/20/65 - To Helen Winter, a member of the Party's National Committee, for expenses of Party's May Day delegation to the Soviet Union.....	6,000.00
4/30/65 - To Chemical Bank for rental of safety deposit vaunt utilized to maintain Solo funds.....	<u>61.22</u>
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS - APRIL, 1965.....	\$ 35,061.22
BALANCE OF FUND - APRIL, 1965.....	\$522,303.67

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is submitted for your information.  
An up-to-date accounting of Solo funds will be brought to your  
attention each month. Details of the accounting of these funds are  
not to be disseminated.

*WAF*  
*S* *WAF* *WAF* *V*

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 02-28-2012

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

(IS) 100-423091

BY LIAISON 1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. Wannall  
1 - Mr. R. Putnam

Date: May 10, 1965  
To: Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS -  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

*5-12-65  
delivered  
out*

There is attached for your information a copy of a memorandum dated May 10, 1965, at Washington, D. C., captioned "Soviet Analysis of Plans and Motives of the People's Republic of China."

Information in the attached memorandum was furnished by sources which have supplied reliable information in the past. Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this memorandum has been classified "~~Top Secret~~."

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter of transmittal becomes unclassified.

Enclosure

1 - Director BY LIAISON (Enclosure)  
Central Intelligence Agency REC-16  
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

REC-16  
HEADING ROOM  
MAY 10 2 15 PM '65

b6  
b7c

NOTE: Enclosure Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of information contained could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S\* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See CGairtel 4/30/65 captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/7/65, "Solo, IS - C," prepared by RCP;pah.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

65 MAY 14 1965 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

EX 110  
REC-16  
MAY 12 1965  
100-423091-4814  
*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- May 10, 1965 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. R. Putna

## SOVIET ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND MOTIVES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

In late February, 1965, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union gave an analysis of the plans and motives of the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China (CPC) to convince representatives of a foreign communist party that the Soviet Union was correct in its dispute with China. The analysis developed along the following lines:

### Vietnam

The rulers of the United States realize the war in Vietnam is lost and they are looking for a way out. At the same time "adventurers" in the United States want the war escalated.

The Chinese aggravate and complicate the situation in Southeast Asia. It is obvious they have a far-reaching plan for that area. The plans of the Chinese and the ultra-right in the United States coincide, both want to keep the cold war hot by fanning the flames of international tension whenever necessary. The Chinese use Indonesia and Vietnam for this purpose.

The real aggressor in this area is the United States, but Chinese interference continues to help the United States broaden the conflict in Vietnam. MAO Tse-tung, Chairman of the CPC, proved this in his interview with the writer, Edgar Snow. MAO said China will commit troops into the conflict when the United States starts overt aggression against China. In reality MAO is asking for the invasion of North Vietnam and in effect he is saying, "We won't interfere."

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-428091

RCP:pah

(10)

~~TOP SECRET~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE 5)

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-4514

SOVIET ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND  
MOTIVES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The people of Vietnam are beginning to understand this and are coming to realize the Soviet Union is the only one giving them aid. Twenty-two American planes have been shot down with the help of radar and guns provided by the Soviet Union. The Chinese did not provide this assistance because they do not have it. Now Vietnam will get more and better arms. All the Chinese did was hold a mass meeting. Yet the Chinese "speculators" distort the role the Soviet Union is playing in this situation. Perhaps the one-sided statements of Nikita Khrushchev created this impression. Khrushchev would emphasize peaceful coexistence between states, but what Lenin had in mind when he spoke of peaceful coexistence was preventing countries like the United States from starting a world war.

Indonesia and Malaysia

Indonesia, a young nationalist state, clearly shows the essence of Chinese politics. The duty of communists should be to switch Indonesia's President Sukarno from a policy of nationalism, which is natural for him, to a policy of internationalism. The Chinese are doing the opposite by urging Indonesia to fight in Malaysia. The Soviet Union is well aware of the fact that Malaysia is a product of imperialism and there are various forms of struggle there, but at this time war between Indonesia and Malaysia would not help.

The Chinese are pushing for a military clash between Indonesia and Malaysia promising two million soldiers. A North Korean delegation which visited Indonesia has reported all the people there have signed up for the war against Malaysia, "even wives of ministers are getting military training."

The United Nations

Many months ago the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China proposed that Indonesia should leave the United Nations. This is one effort of the Chinese to destroy the United Nations. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) recognizes that the United Nations has weaknesses but it is an instrument for peace. The destruction of the United Nations would be contrary to peaceful coexistence.

SOVIET ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND  
MOTIVES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

And the United Nations is changing; the young nations are voting with the socialist camp and the basic policy of these new nations is aligned with the policy of peaceful coexistence. The Chinese do not like this. Their policy is "the worse the better."

The Chinese want a "New Revolutionary UN" which "stinks of nationalism and racism." The Chinese embrace the concept of the three A's: Asia, Africa and Latin America. Contending that the black, yellow and white races will never understand each other, the Chinese propose to divide the world into three movements: the socialist camp, the national independence movement and the working-class movement. The "New Revolutionary UN" is part of the Chinese plan. In May, 1965, at the Afro-Asian Conference in Algeria, the Chinese will attempt to form this "New Revolutionary UN."

Decline of Internationalism

The "imperialist forces" use the differences between the CPSU and the CPC. Unity must be restored to deprive the enemy of his best opportunities. There is no question that the Chinese have influenced factions in the international communist movement which have waived from true principles of Marxism-Leninism, but it cannot be said the Chinese are responsible for the so-called "centrism" in the movement, although they have encouraged it. The CPSU agrees that the spirit of internationalism is declining in the world communist movement. This tendency must be overcome in order to achieve the recreation of internationalism.

Chinese Nationalism

The Communist Party of China is now campaigning to convince people of the special destiny of the Chinese people. This is all part of their program to build the ideology of great power, Chinese chauvinism, to be used for world hegemony.

The Chinese have taken as their main task the sharpening of differences between the Soviet Union and the United States. They want a third world war while they play the role of observers. The Chinese tell their Party that if there is a third world war the Chinese will stand on a mountain-

SOVIET ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND  
MOTIVES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

top and watch two tigers in the valley destroy themselves. They do not hesitate to talk of half of mankind being destroyed. "Humanity remains," they say, but while Europeans and Americans die, the Chinese will remain.

The Chinese are going through the illness of nationalism. This nationalism is virile and grows in fertile soil. When genuine Marxist-Leninists criticize the Chinese, it is done to help them rid themselves of this sickness of nationalism. But a serious danger stems from this policy of the Chinese and it is correct to use patience with them. While on one hand the Chinese can be criticized in the proper way, at the same time they must be helped to get rid of the illness of nationalism.

Chinese Economic Development

Many elements of the present Chinese position stem from the history and philosophy of China. China is very backward economically. Some of the actions of the Chinese are explained by the state of their development, for example, their concept of "socialism" in terms of economic development. The Chinese say socialism does not necessarily mean a high standard of living. The Chinese press indicates that desire for good clothing is bourgeois ideology. This position is explained by the state of their economy. The Chinese pushed their economy into disaster after 1958, but prior to that they had had spectacular success. Assistance provided by the Soviet Union accounted for this success.

Soviet Assistance

The Soviet Union helped the Chinese build 198 big enterprises--steel and auto plants. Ninety-one per cent of tractor production was due to Soviet help and plants. The same holds true for eighty-eight per cent of Chinese auto production and eighty per cent of the production of metals. Until 1960, 10,000 Soviet specialists assisted Chinese industry and transport. No Soviet experts were engaged in Chinese agriculture. Therefore, the Chinese charge that the Soviet Union was responsible for the Chinese famine is obviously false.

SOVIET ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND  
MOTIVES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The Soviet Union trained more than 8,000 Chinese engineers. With Soviet assistance twenty-four war plants were built and thirty-three more, currently being completed, were started with the assistance of the Soviet Union. In addition, the Soviet Union equipped thirty-three Chinese military divisions, laid the basis for Chinese atomic plants and started sixty-six industrial plants which the Chinese are now completing.

Chinese Failures

The premature collectivization of people into communes and the failure of the communes led to the great Chinese famine. Instead of a great leap forward there was a great failure. Steel produced in "backyard furnaces" gave quantity but no quality. China has not yet caught up with its 1958 level of agricultural production and it will take another eight years before this level is reached. As a result, the Chinese have had to introduce rationing which allows but 150 grams of meat and sugar per month.

These conditions make it hard for the Chinese leaders to explain socialism. This is why the Chinese people are told a high standard of living is "degeneration." Policy mistakes caused the economic failures. In practice, the Chinese have gone back to the exercise of private trade with private plots of land and the people's communes are now cooperatives. All this was necessary to correct past mistakes.

Foreign Policy

Chinese foreign policy can be explained by the isolation of China. When the Soviet Union proposes a policy of understanding with the United States, the Chinese brand it "betrayed" but, when China negotiates with France, it is called "socialism."

The Chinese will have to revise their policy. In several countries the Chinese have created splinter parties; in a number of existing parties there have been splits as a result of Chinese action. The CPSU believes the Chinese have reached the limit in the creation of new parties.



~~TOP SECRET~~

SOVIET ANALYSIS OF PLANS AND  
MOTIVES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The Chinese are afraid of a world conference of communist and workers parties because they are afraid of the future. However, they will have to change their attitude. If the present leadership of the CPC will not, a new leader of the CPC will. The current policies of the CPC are pregnant with failure. In the long run a flexible policy will bend the Chinese to the Soviet viewpoint.

Cult of the Personality

The Soviet Union believes there are favorable prospects in the long run; one cannot discount the enthusiasm of the Chinese people as a factor in some of the successes in China. When the cult of the personality in China changes, things in China will change. Sooner or later the people will express themselves. There has been a struggle between the leaders of China against the intelligentsia since MAO Tse-tung says he does not trust the present generation of leaders and is dissatisfied with the CPC "apparatus officer corps." This is shown by the fact that many leaders in the CPC have been removed lately.

Who Would Join the Revolution?

The Soviet Union constantly strives to improve the standard of living of the Russian people to go forward to the next stage of development--communism. Great difficulties face the Chinese in attempting to do the same for seven hundred million people and these difficulties have been vastly increased by Chinese policy mistakes. The Chinese say the CPSU is bourgeois because it has raised the standard of living of the Soviet people and this is a symbol of degeneration. What it boils down to is this: Suppose one told American workers that socialism means poverty. Who would join the revolution?

NOTE: Memorandum classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" because unauthorized disclosure of information contained therein could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S\* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. See CGairtel 4/30/65 captioned "Solo, IS - C." Dissemination of memo being made to State Department and CIA by letter 5/10/65 captioned "Foreign Political Matters - People's Republic of China," prepared by RCP:pah. Also see memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/7/65, captioned "Solo, IS - C," prepared ~~TOP SECRET~~ by RCP:pah.

REC-6

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 5/3/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

*Handwritten notes:*  
5 - [Signature]  
[Signature]

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Text of 'Political Letter' Approved by Executive Committee, Brazilian Communist Party, October, 1964, Outlining Political Program."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 4/26 and 5/3/65 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "TOP SECRET" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S\* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

*Lead 813RP*

- ③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

18 MAY 13 1965

4815

Approved: [Signature] Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

cc-158 77 MAY 19 1965

CG 134-46 Sub B

The document referred to in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was secured in early 3/65 in Moscow, USSR, by CG 5824-S\* from a Brazilian CP leader, A. ZILLER, who was then there for the purpose of attending the 3/1/65 consultative meeting. The document prepared in the Portuguese language was translated first to Russian and thereafter to English by a translator of the Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, for the source. The source noted that ZILLER considered the document extremely important and he had noted that it had been discussed with other Latin American CPs and shown to the CP of the Soviet Union but had never been officially published. HYMAN LUMER, another CP, USA member who was in Moscow for the 3/1/65 meeting, was present at the time CG 5824-S\* received this document and sought to gain custody of it, but CG 5824-S\* prevailed upon LUMER to allow him to retain possession by informing LUMER that he would arrange a translation and could bring it back to the U.S. with greater security.

On 4/30/65, following his return to the U.S., CG 5824-S\* transmitted the original of this document to LUMER at the National Office, CP, USA, in New York.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

May 3, 1965

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TEXT OF "POLITICAL LETTER" APPROVED BY  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST  
PARTY, OCTOBER, 1964, OUTLINING POLITICAL  
PROGRAM

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late April and early May, 1965, advised as follows:

In October, 1964, the Executive Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party (CP) approved a "Political Letter" outlining a program of action for that Party in regard to the current government of Brazil headed by Humberto Castelo Branco which had come to power as a result of the military coup of April 1, 1964. This "Political Letter" or resolution, by which it has been referred, has not been made public but has been brought to the attention of a number of representatives from Latin American CPs and has also been provided to the CP of the Soviet Union. This "Political Letter," which was originally set out in the Portuguese language, is as follows:

"POLITICAL LETTER

(Approved at a Sitting of the Executive Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party in October 1964)

"1. Six months after the military coup, April 1, the dictatorship can no longer conceal its character and its goals from the people.

"The institutional act imposed on the nation by the dictatorship annulled the main rights and guarantees provided for in the Constitution, and the country was plunged into a regime of terror and lawlessness. Many thousands of democrats and patriots were repressed. The police and the military commit all sorts of violence and criminal acts. In the name

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"of the government they torture the helpless prisoners, raid the homes of citizens, destroy libraries and burn books, persecute intellectuals and students, shut down democratic organizations, and put trade unions and student organizations under their control. Thousands of civilians and service men are dismissed from their posts without any right of appeal and protection.

"On the other hand, the dictatorship, which acts as the agent of the International Monetary Fund, is carrying through an economic and financial policy that diametrically contradicts the national interests. The main provisions of the law on the export of profits are being violated. A disgraceful transaction has been concluded for the purchase of old scrap iron from 'Bond and Share' (AMFORP). All government control over the rate of exchange has been lifted and the cruseiro is dropping rapidly. The so-called subsidies for the import of wheat and oil have been abolished. On the pretext of combating inflation, the real causes of which, imperialist plunder and survivals of feudalism, are not even remembered these days, the government is increasing indirect taxes, shifting the whole burden of taxation on the popular masses and carrying through a taxation policy that hits the pockets of the working people. Public works have been discontinued. Credits to national manufacturers are being reduced. At the same time, the government intends to adopt a law which repeals the right to strike, strives to reduce real wages, wipes out such gains of the working people as benefits for harmful and dangerous jobs, and arbitrarily abolishes rights guaranteed to workers by labour contracts. The results of all this are being felt every day--prices are rising, so is unemployment, the suffering and privations of the working people are increasing, commerce and industry are shrinking, and the country's plunder by North American monopolies is being intensified.

"Having cynically welcomed dependence upon the U.S. State Department, the dictatorship has, in the field of foreign policy, annulled important national gains of the Brazilian people--a champion of peace and an advocate of disarmament, de-colonization, non-interference and the self-determination of the peoples. Relations with the government

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"of socialist Cuba were broken off, and on the heels of this the Brazilian delegation at a conference of the OAS disgracefully acted as a cat's paw and obedient instrument of the U.S. Government. The hasty support the dictatorship expressed on Brazil's behalf to the recent aggression of the American militarists in Northern Vietnam points clearly to the danger to which our nation is exposed by the government, which is dragging the country without compunction into the military adventures of the imperialists. The setting up on Brazil territory of North American bases for inter-continental rockets is a grave violation of national sovereignty and a menace to the security of our people.

"The Presidential elections have been postponed until the end of 1966 and the principle of the so-called "absolute majority" has been established; according to this principle the National Congress is authorized to veto a presidential nominee elected by direct, nation-wide voting. New machinations are being carried through to prolong the mandates of state governors and delay the impending election. The number of reactionary projects aimed at obstructing free expression of popular will at the ballot boxes and restricting the activities of political parties is growing continuously. A new law has been announced on the enforcement of security, and another law on the press, plus an election reform which is to perpetuate the provisions of the Institutional Act. While striving to pile up armaments by multiple increases of budget allocations to the military ministries, the conspirators are also seeing to their own safety by introducing monstrous police legislation.

"2. In spite of the violence and savage abuse against the people, resistance to the policies of the dictatorship is beginning to mount throughout the country.

"The working people are not bowing to the pressure exerted on them with the purpose of decreasing wages and handcuffing their organizations. Trade Union assemblies attended by many people have already been held in Rio de Janeiro, San Paulo, Porto Allegri and other cities. Again, the working class is employing its weapon of striking. Conflicts and clashes with the mercenaries of the latifundists and with the police have occurred in the countryside.

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"During their election campaigns, at gatherings and meetings, and by strikes, the students are fighting terrorism in the field of culture and acting in defense of persecuted professors and students. Each day a growing number of intellectuals is joining in the struggle against the government.

"Public opinion is increasingly condemning the dictatorship. Denouncements resound in the speeches of members of Parliament, in statements issued by political parties and religious leaders, and in the press. A wave of protest is mounting all over the country against the tortures of political prisoners, and this has compelled the government to initiate, though spuriously, an investigation of such crimes.

"Resistance is growing to the financial and economic policy of the government, chiefly with respect to its complete subjection to the demands of U.S. imperialism, as illustrated by the purchase of 'Bond and Share.' Large sections of the national bourgeoisie started levelling criticism and attacking the recommendation of the International Monetary Fund. The mood of the masses, who had been passive and hesitant, is thus changing. Resentment and opposition to the government is increasing. Manifestations have taken place, indicating disagreement with government policies and demonstrating readiness to struggle.

"3. The facts bear out the appraisal which the Communists made right after the coup of the forces that had seized power and established a reactionary military dictatorship subservient to U.S. imperialism. The government of Castello Branco represents the most reactionary and treacherous groups of Brazil. It is conducting a policy that contradicts the interests of the working class, the peasants, the middle sections, the intelligentsia and the national bourgeoisie. And that is the precise reason why this government has no future, and why its social basis is shrinking from day to day.

"Contradictions are growing deeper among the heterogeneous forces that had joined hands to perform the coup and are at present in power. On the one hand, the ultra-rights openly demand the dissolution of the Congress, armed

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"intervention in the affairs of the states, banning of opposition newspapers, and closure of trade unions and student organizations. On the other hand, the forces that attempt to deceive the masses parade demagogically as 'liberal' and 'progressive,' as advocates of democracy and reform. By the way, they urge the very same 'reforms' that are urged by the imperialists, that is, the false reforms of the 'Alliance for Progress' programme. Their 'democracy' is just an attempt to camouflage dictatorship with a 'constitutional cloak,' to use Parliament to 'legalize' their reactionary acts of betrayal. Their true goal is to 'legalize' dictatorship in the hope of strengthening it.

"The sharpening of contradictions among the forces that have seized power is adding to the political instability of the Branco government and should be used to extend the struggle against the dictatorship.

"4. In the conditions of the reactionary and perfidious dictatorship, and of its anti-national and anti-popular policy, the Communists reiterate their opposition and readiness to fight with unbending resolve. The coup of April 1 has deepened the antagonistic contradictions in the country between nationalists and defeatist elements. Today, it is more than ever necessary to conduct a purposeful struggle for a nationalistic and democratic government, because no other government is capable of launching the basic reforms demanded by the nation. Thus, we are fighting to destroy the dictatorship, to deprive the forces that carried out the military coup of power.

"The situation obtaining in the country at present requires that the struggle against the dictatorship should be aimed, above all, at reconquering democratic freedoms. To this purpose, the Communists must intensify their work among the people shoulder to shoulder with all other patriots and democrats of all trends for the repeal of the Institutional Act, for the release of political prisoners, for mass solidarity with victims of the persecutions and their families, for free elections, for unmolested trade union activities and the free functioning of student and popular organizations, for

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"the observance of all rights and constitutional guarantees. It is necessary to step up the fight against the economic and financial policy of the dictatorship, against the high cost of living, against tax increases which fall on the people, against measures detrimental to national industry, in defense of state enterprises and against disgraceful concessions to the imperialist monopolies and the Washington government. A struggle should be initiated also against the foreign policy of the government, which supports and encourages armed imperialist provocations. We must organize and intensify the struggle of the working people in town and country for their inalienable demands with greater vigour than ever before.

"In extending their work among the masses and concentrating their efforts on the struggle for democratic freedoms, the Communists are striving to create a broad united front, a union of all forces capable of resisting the dictatorship. As they work for agreement with all the political trends that are prepared to fight against the reactionary group that has usurped power, the Communists are determined to apply their efforts to the framing of a minimum programme that would serve as a basis for joint actions against the dictatorship and provide for the formation of a government that would fully guarantee the freedom of the people and secure conditions for a progressive solution of the national problems.

"Nothing but mass actions can produce a successful and effective way out of the situation, lead broad sections of the people to victory in the struggle for their demands, prevent a consolidation of the dictatorship, and crush it. As far as the Communists are concerned, the main thing is to rouse the masses for struggle, because struggle alone will infuse the people with confidence in their strength. Each partial success gives encouragement to the masses, strengthens their organization, and prompts them to carry out consistent, increasingly resolute actions that lead to the defeat of the government.

"5. It should be borne in mind that whatever form the struggle against the dictatorship assumes, whether peaceful or non-peaceful, mass actions will always be the decisive factor securing the advancement of the political process in

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"conformity with the interests of our people. The main efforts of the Communists should at the moment focus on strengthening work among the masses, on the protection and strengthening of their organization, on the preparation and extension of the struggle for their rights and demands. The Communists must make the most of all the existing legal possibilities. At the same time, self-defense groups must be organized, particularly in the countryside, in order to resist, when this becomes necessary, brutal police repressions. The Communists must be prepared to support all popular actions against the dictatorship, even spontaneous ones, without delay, but they should also be vigilant and warn the masses against all isolated and hasty acts which exceed the possibilities at any given moment and in any given situation and which may, in case of defeat, create serious impediments to the struggle. In carrying out work among the masses, we must overcome the harmful tendencies of passivity and of expecting the dictatorship to collapse without a fight due to internal contradictions, or of its being overthrown in a putsch or through some adventurous action.

"6. For us to measure up to the situation obtaining in the country, to measure up to the struggle of our people, we must first and foremost rapidly adapt Party work to underground conditions in order to ensure, regardless of the circumstances, all-round Party activities, the safety of the leading bodies and of the work of primary organizations, particularly at the factories. We must bear in mind that in the present situation it is doubly necessary to intensify work at bottom level, in the trade unions, among peasants, students, etc., and to pay still greater attention to the activity of the primary organizations. The leading bodies and Party organizations must, while observing the standards of Party life, display the greatest of initiative.

"Agitation and propaganda work, from the Executive Committee of the CC down, calls for special attention. All propaganda media, legal and illegal, must be used to carry our message to the masses, explaining the situation and rousing their patriotic feelings and fighting spirit, revealing the true causes of the high cost of living and of poverty, exposing the anti-popular and anti-national policy of the dictatorship,

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"utilizing all opportunities to expose the crimes of the dictatorship against the people and showing how the Party proposes to resolve the national problems. Today, it is most important, especially in the countryside, to hold debates, talks, and the like, about the 'land statutes' which the government intends to submit to Parliament as a programme for agrarian reform.

"We must intensify trade union work as much as conditions will allow at each enterprise, within each trade union, federation and confederation, while bearing in mind that the struggle for the urgent demands of the working people must be closely associated with the struggle for the freedom of the trade union organizations. With this purpose in view we must concentrate our efforts on campaigning for higher wages, for a revision of the minimum wage scale, for the payment in full of wages for the thirteenth month, and for the holding of trade union meetings and free elections to the governing trade union bodies.

"As concerns work in the countryside, we must exert all efforts in order to achieve the resumption of trade union activities alongside the activities of existing peasant organizations. It is essential to organize the struggle of the tillers and farm labourers for the observance of the 'statutes of the rural labourer,' against attempts to drive people off the land, that is, lay emphasis on the most vital demands at each estate, sugar plantation, etc., and on a genuine agrarian reform that would benefit millions of Brazilian peasants.

"The events of the last few months show that there are unusually good opportunities of rallying the youth of Brazil, particularly the students, to the struggle in defense of democratic freedoms, against dictatorship. We must step up our work among the students with the chief aim of defending the legality and autonomy of the student movement, university autonomy and freedom of instruction, and of fighting against the punishment and persecution of students and instructors, for an educational reform and for a university reform.

"The main purpose of stepping up active work among women is to organize, in a variety of forms, a struggle against the high cost of living, and a movement of solidarity with political prisoners and victims of political persecutions and with the members of their families.

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"We must also intensify our work among the intellectuals in order that they work actively, both individually and through their organizations, against the terror of the dictatorship in the field of culture, and in defense of democratic freedoms.

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"It is the duty of the Party organizations and of every Party member to put the line set out in this document into practice. The people must be informed about the contents of this document, which should be used as a means of marshalling the masses, and uniting the thoughts and actions of all patriotic and democratic forces in the struggle against the dictatorship.

"THE EXECUTIVE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

"October, 1964"

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